The motion was carried.

PRESIDENT: I appoint Mr. V. Subba Aiyar as President of the Select Committee.

MR. TUPPAN NAMPUTIRI (*Jenmies*): മൂന്നുമാസത്തിനകംതന്നെ സെലക്ട് കമ്മിറ്റി റിപ്പോർട്ടയക്കണമെന്ന് ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു.

PRESIDENT: I am afraid three months is too short a period for such an important measure.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): Three months will not be enough. We may have to convene three or four meetings, and perhaps evidence will have to be recorded.

PRESIDENT: We will make it six months. Six months is an outside limit. They will, of course, get through it earlier if they can.

AMENDMENT TO STANDING ORDERS.

PRESIDENT: The next item of business is the amendment to Standing Orders. Mr. S. Piraviperumal Pillai has given notice of the following amendment to Order No. 56 of the Standing Orders of the Travancore Legislative Council.

"*Insert the words 'notice of demand for any grant shall be given seven clear days before the day on which the demand is to be considered and' before the first word 'If' in Standing Order No. 56*".

Has the member leave of the House to make the motion?

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*) It is not objected to by anybody.

PRESIDENT: Any objection can come only after I have put the question.

MR. KAYALAM PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Additional Head Sirkar Vakil*): I object.

PRESIDENT: Those members who are in favour of the motion will, please, rise in their places.

(16 members stood up).

PRESIDENT: I am sorry, Mr. Piraviperumal Pillai, you have not the leave of the House as 20 members did not rise in support of your motion.

The amendment fell through for want of support.

RESOLUTIONS ON MATTERS OF GENERAL PUBLIC INTEREST.

Recruitment to the Public Service.—(Contd.)

PRESIDENT: We will now proceed to resolutions.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha cum Todupuzha*): ഈ റസല്യൂഷൻ മൂവുചെയ്യു; ചീഫ് സെക്രട്ടറി അവർകളുടെ മറുപടിയും കേട്ടുകഴിഞ്ഞു. ഇനി ഒന്നുകൂടി ആ സംഗതി എടുത്തുപറവാൻ പ്രസിഡൻറ് അനുവദിക്കുന്നപക്ഷം പറയാം.

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MR. KAYALAM PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Additional Head Sirkar Vakil*): Sir, at the last meeting of the Council, the resolution was moved and the mover had already spoken and the Chief Secretary has replied.

PRESIDENT: The House will now carry on the further discussion of the resolution.

MR. G. RAMAN MENON (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): Sir, the question raised by my friend Mr. Kunjitomman in the resolution on the recruitment to the public service is a very important one. The welfare of the people of Travancore depends on a proper solution of this communal problem. I say this not because I am obsessed by any undue sense of the importance of officialdom in the national life, but because the present circumstances of the country make it a very important question. Intrinsically, officialdom may not be a very important factor in national life. For my part, I think that, during the last 25 or 30 years, no official has done more to benefit the people of Travancore than a private gentleman whom I know. I mean the well-known Travancorean planter and industrialist Mr. P. J. John. He has done more for benefiting the people of Travancore during the last 30 years than any official known to me, by starting and carrying on in a successful manner industries and planting which serve as an example to others and incite others to follow the example and to increase the wealth of the country. I think that more importance is to be attached to such work of organising and carrying on industries in a scientific manner than mere official routine. But, in spite of this fact, the circumstances of the country make the question of recruitment to the public service a very important one. The poverty, the unemployment, the moral degeneration, the confusion and the general waste of time, money and energy in harmful or unnecessary matters that unfortunately prevail in this State are mainly due to the system of bureaucratic and autocratic Government that obtains in this country. These evils can be remedied to any appreciable extent only by establishing a system of Government responsible to the representatives of the people. What stands in the way of this wholesome and necessary reform is the disunion and distrust that prevail or appear to prevail among some of the prominent men belonging to the different communities—I do not say that these prevail among the majority of the members of the communities, but only amongst the prominent men. So, as a simple-minded and practical man who loves his country, I am bound to favour any attempt towards lessening communal distrust and discord. The apple of discord among at least some of the prominent persons is the recruitment to public service. Though it is highly desirable that definite rules and principles should be laid down about this matter, it is even more necessary that they should be strictly acted upon by the Government. It is not enough to lay down rules. But the Government should act up to them strictly and in the spirit of encouraging communal harmony. I shall now examine the principles and practice of the Government on the subject as expounded by my friend Mr. George in the light of facts which have come to my knowledge in the course of my experience of

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[Mr. G. Raman Menon.]

public affairs in Travancore. The principles have been enunciated as follows:—

"(1) No one will be ineligible for admission to the public service on the ground that he belongs to a particular community."

This is a very unexceptionable principle.

"(2) Equal opportunities will be given to all communities for admission to the service."

That is also a very welcome principle.

"(3) Other things being equal, preference will be given to unrepresented and poorly represented communities".

That also to my mind appears only to be fair.

" (4) It is out of the question to make provision for the representation of every individual community but only of certain well-defined unitary groups."

That also is a practical suggestion.

"(5) Even in the case of these groups, representation in the service will be based on the number of qualified hands available and willing to take up appointments in each group than on its numerical strength."

I beg to differ from that principle. Suppose, owing to a long course of opportunities for education, there are a larger number of qualified applicants from among Nayars or Christians than from among Ezhavas or Pulayas. I should not stand in the way of appointing a person from an unrepresented class. So long as there is a man who is qualified, the man belonging to the unrepresented class should be preferred, because we should remember that the object of making appointments to the Government service is not to encourage particular individuals or classes, but to promote harmony in the country and to see that things are carried on justly and properly. No genius is required for carrying on a clerk's work or a peon's work. It is only ordinary intelligence that is required. So, in the interests of harmony, we must see that even if the number of applicants are few from an unrepresented class, those applicants that come forward should be preferred to other classes who are already over-represented.

"(6) Communal considerations can prevail only in the case of initial appointments, whether permanent or temporary, and not of promotions."

That also is an unexceptionable principle. But my only complaint is that that principle has not been observed by the Government. The appointment of Mr. Mathen as Dewan Peishkar from the Judicial Department when there were gentlemen with equal qualifications, longer service and more experience of the work in the Land Revenue and Income Tax Department itself who were long looking for promotion is a violation of this principle. That was not a case of fresh appointment. But the Government in spite of the principle enunciated here, preferred that gentleman. The appointment of Mr. C. O. Madhavan as Division Assistant from the post of District Munsiff is another instance of the Government's playing fast and loose with the principles

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they themselves had laid down. So, it seems to me that when the Government themselves have been playing fast and loose with the principles they had laid down, it is no wonder then that the heads of departments and other subordinates also play fast and loose with communal representation They apply it in different ways at different times so as to suit their own schemes. Some of them at least appear to quote the principle of appointments to Government service more or less in the same way as a certain person ,who need not be named, quotes scripture. They observe no uniform standard. They have a dislike for settled rules of conduct in this matter. The result is that they apply principles so as to confer the appointment on the particular man who has gained their favour in some way or other or has been recommended by influential favourites or others. This is highly injurious and demoralising to the Government and the people. So, definite rules on the lines recommended by the resolution should be laid down. What is more important is, as I observed before, that the rules when laid down should be strictly adhered to and uniformly applied to all applicants for appointments. The fact that the principles have not been properly adhered to is the main reason for Mr. Kunjitomman's resolution. I have every sympathy with this point of view. I strongly object to the manner in which Government and some of their chief officers have been playing with the principles laid down by the Government on the subject. I support the spirit of the resolution as a mark of my protest against the way in which the Government have been playing fast and loose with the principles of communal representation.

PRESIDENT: Your time is up Mr. Raman Menon.

MR. PAUL DANIEL (*Nominated*): The resolution aims at enabling all communities in the State to have an equal number of holders of service in the different departments of Government with the exception of the two departments mentioned in the resolution. If the resolution could be carried out, no doubt, a better state of affairs would be secured so far as representation in Government service is concerned and the present communal bickerings greatly reduced. But it must be admitted that giving effect to the resolution in its entirety involves difficulties which are almost insurmountable and these difficulties are increasing day by day. The Government having admitted the principle of communal representation in State service, communities are tempted to divide and subdivide themselves indefinitely, and if this goes on for any length of time, the difficulties would be actually insurmountable. Of the many difficulties that one might mention, I would confine myself only to two. First, it is by no means easy to prepare a correct schedule of all the communities in the State, large and small, without the omission of any community whatsoever, however small or insignificant, and avoiding overlapping. It is not the basis of caste that is required to be made use of in this particular affair. If so, the matter would be simple. If it be the basis of religion, that could make the matter, in my opinion, much simpler, simpler than going on classifying on the basis of caste or any other basis. The Government have got a rough and

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[Mr. Paul Daniel.]

ready classification on the basis of religion. That would have been alright had it been free from the difficulties one could easily find in that classification. I am afraid it is open to defects of cross-division and of imcomplete division or classification. Very recently, I believe the Government made a classification of the Christians and I am sorry to say that it did not give satisfaction to many, chiefly because it is a glaring instance not only of cross-division but also of very imperfect division. To tide over the difficulty, the word "others" is made use of in different parts of the classification. It is very convenient to put it thus on paper. But when one attempts to put down all the communities that that term is intended to cover, one meets with very serious difficulties. Of course, it is the one serious difficulty that came to my mind. The other difficulty is that the communities in the State are not all equal in numerical strength. If this were so, the request contained in the resolution could be easily granted. One has only to divide the number of appointments by the number of communities that are in the State and the result will be the number of appointments each community is entitled to. But the matter is not so simple. There are large communities and small communities living side by side, the latter almost negligible so far as their numerical strength is concerned. However, if the principle contained in the resolution has to be carried out fully in its entirety, every community should be represented in the State service and every community should find its legitimate place in the classification which the Government accept and act upon. But this is not so very simple. As long as people treat Government service as family property and to an equal share of it every member can lay claim, there must be all these difficulties. But because there are all these difficulties, shall we say that it should be given up? Government have committed themselves by having accepted a principle and acted upon it all these years. Consequently, I would suggest that the present classification which they have accepted and which they are acting upon should be received as a sort of basis for improvement. The few difficulties that I have pointed out in regard to this classification should, in the first place, be removed, and "others" should be substituted by the various communities for which that word is made to stand in the classification, so that, every community may know that it has a place there, and that its position has been recognised by the Government. Again, as I have pointed out, these communities vary in numbers very greatly. There must be some indication at least in the records of Government as to what proportion of Government service every community is entitled to. I believe that, in that case, much of the heart-burning that is now prevalent in the country will be removed. We find that this is as if it were the only thing that is going on in every people's life time. In this Legislative Council itself, we find that most of the interpellations relate to this particular thing. Resolutions too, often perhaps in various guises, relate to this difficulty which the people see and perhaps which the Government also see. Though I cannot support the resolution in its entirety, I accept the principle that

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is involved in it. It is a principle which the Government have already accepted and it is also a principle which the Government have been attempting to act up to, for the last several years; but, by that, the Government have not been able to satisfy all the people alike.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*): May I know which portion is not acceptable?

MR. PAUL DANIEL (*Nominated*): The last portion of it is not acceptable to my mind. That is members of the community who are not preferred to any appointment appealing to Government. Though I do not subscribe to that, I fully feel that the principle involved in it should be accepted. The classification now made use of should be improved, defects in it should be removed, and some indication should be made as to what proportion of appointment each community can expect in the various departments of the State.

PRESIDENT: Mr. Lampard, you represent a large employing interest. I should like to have your views in the matter.

MR. L. A. LAMPARD (*Planters*): Sir, I have only just read through the resolution and therefore not given it much consideration yet. But the principle which I think is adopted in every business concern is the question of choosing the most efficient man for the job. Some of the big businesses in England are represented all over the world and in every country. In choosing men in the various countries, one does not necessarily choose a member of that country. For instance, in the offices in Sumatra and Java, you very often find Chinese clerks, because they are the most efficient men for the particular job. Of course, I don't think the Europeans regard the question of communal representation in the same way as is done here.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*): May I know whether any posts are reserved for Englishmen in British India?

MR. L. A. LAMPARD (*Planters*): I do not know that. I am not a Government servant. But I do know, in choosing men in Quilon, we place no distinction between a Mahomedan, a Hindu or a Christian. The whole question is whether he is the most efficient man for the job.

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*): Sir, may I know from Mr. Lampard whom he would prefer all things being equal—an European or Indian—for a post?

MR. L. A. LAMPARD (*Planters*): There are jobs where an European is not so useful as an Indian.

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*): Supposing all things are equal, would he prefer an Indian to an European?

MR. L. A. LAMPARD (*Planters*): It is very difficult to get things equal anywhere. These are my views on the question.

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): Sir, I rise to support the resolution. The subject has been discussed in the previous Council at very great length, and I am at one with the Chief Secretary when he said that the

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[Mr. N. Kumaran.]

whole subject has been threshed out in a former session of the Council and that there is very little to be added from the Government side. And if the principles that were laid down by the then Chief Secretary were acted up to, I believe there would have been absolutely no occasion whatsoever for Mr. Kunjitomman again to raise the same issue before the House. I think that out of the six rules which were laid down at a previous session of the Council by the Government member, five are unobjectionable. One was taken exception to by Mr. G. Raman Menon and I fully agree with him.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): May I know if he agrees with the instances given by Mr. Raman Menon?

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): I shall deal with this question later on. The fifth rule says:

"Even in the case of these groups, representation in the service will be based more on the number of qualified hands available and willing to take up appointments in each group than on its numercial strength".

That rule, I believe, is one which was intended to benefit communities which are already over-represented in public service, probably because they possess more members who are qualified for public post. Even at the time when these rules were enunciated, I raised my voice of protest against their acceptance and I do not believe the Chief Secretary can take us to have accepted this rule and the Chief Secretary has no reason whatsoever to believe that even this enunciation is the very last word on the subject. The objections with respect to this rule are very clear on the very surface, because if this rule is accepted, the application of the rule would become difficult. Last time, when Mr. Joseph put a question to the Chief Secretary regarding a hypothetical case with respect to the application of the rule, he was not able to give a definite answer. That was with reference to a case in which where there was one vacancy and for which there were only two applicants—one a Brahmin and another an Ezhava. Mr. Joseph asked Mr. George to whom the appointment would go. Mr. George replied 'to an Ezhava'. Again Mr. Joseph asked: There was another vacancy occurring immediately for which there was an Ezhava applicant and a Brahmin applicant. To whom would the appointment go? Mr. George could not give a definite reply. Because he thought, that is what I surmise, that if all the vacancies are given to one community successively, that would cause heart-burning. The principle that was adopted could be applied in all cases. If, on the other hand, the Chief Secretary would have taken into consideration the fact that there is a vast difference between the numerical importance of these two communities, he could very easily have decided the question in favour of the Ezhava. There is absolutely no harm to the State in the Brahmin community obtaining ten appointments and Ezhava two appointments. I need not carry the illustration further. At any rate, this shows that the fifth rule stood in

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his way of giving a definite answer. The fifth rule is very vicious in other respects also. Now, the reason why Mr. Kunjitomman has brought forward the resolution is quite clear from his speech. There is no use in the Government laying down certain rules. They are not also satisfactory in themselves. They might be satisfactory in theory, but may not give general satisfaction in practice. The Dewan and the Chief Secretary have laid down rules for the guidance of their officers. The most important point is that the Government should see that their subordinates actually carry out those rules. The question has been raised several years ago and in various replies given by the Government and also in various circulars issued by the Government to their subordinate officers the principle has been accepted. But the answers to various interpellations given in this Council clearly show that there is hardly an officer in the State who is acting up to the principles contained in these rules. If it be so, there is every reason why Mr. Kunjitomman and the non-official members on this side of the House should raise this question a second time, a thord time and probably a hundredth time. Various answers given to our interpellations would show that even the inequalities that we originally observed are being maintained in spite of the existence of this rule. There was a G. O. recently issued—two years ago—in which the returns from the various departments were reviewed. Even in spite of the statistics furnished with regard to appointments made subsequently, the Government can very easily see that no officer is prepared to give any weight to this enunciation of the rules by the Government. I do not want to take up the time of the Council by referring to statistics. My friend Mr. Kunjitomman is ready with these statistics and he will give them in his reply. I would refer to one or two instances particularly because Mr. George in his reply was not able to substantiate his arguments by statistics. Mr. George raised the issue that it is a question of efficiency. This question of efficiency was also discussed on former occasions. I believe this question of efficiency does not arise in initial appointments and now we are discussing only initial appointments. In respect of promotions, the Legislative Council has absolutely no business to interfere—at least the non-official side has no business to interfere. Government have got certain principles and they might act according to those principles in regard to promotions. We are here dealing with initial appointments where efficiency is secured by certain rules which the Government have published laying down examination qualifications.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): May I ask Mr. Kumaran whether simply because a man is a B. A. Mr. Kumaran would appoint him straightway as a Police Inspector or an Excise Inspector? Does not efficiency count more than the degree that he may have?

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): Once upon a time even persons who had no educational qualifications were appointed.

MR. K. GEORGE (*Chief Secretary to Government*): I am not asking of educational qualifications. I ask whether educational qualification is enough for those posts?

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MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): We can only give educational qualification as a test to begin with. All other qualifications should be secured by training. We have the latest instance of the recruits taken into the Police Department and they are being trained.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): May I know whether in that case educational qualification alone was considered?

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): So far as the Police Department is concerned physical fitness also is taken into consideration.

PRESIDENT: I was one of those who was on the committee to consider the recruiting and let me make it perfectly plain to you that the considerations that weighed with us primarily and mainly was not educational qualifications alone. While that was the eliminating factor, the things that weighed with us were personal bearing and how the men spoke and in what spirit they viewed things.

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): Well, that was the first instance in which such an examination was conducted, either in the Police Department or in any other department. I do not belive there was any other case in which recruits were asked to appear before a recruiting officer and had to stand the test of a *viva voce* examination, and chosen according to the manner of their replies. I believe that was the only instance. In respect of recruitment to the Police and the Excise Departments, the same thing might be continued. I have absolutely no objection to that. I am sure my community will be able to produce recruits which would satisfy the requirements of these departments.

MR. KAYALAM PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Additional Head Sirkar Vakil*): May I know what Mr. Kumaran means by initial appointments?

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): Initial appointment is the first appointment.

MR. KAYALAM PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Additional Head Sirkar Vakil*): May I ask whether Mr. Kumaran would consider the appointment of a High Court Judge as an initial appointment in any case?

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): The recruitment to the Judicial service may be considered to be a special case. We are not speaking here about the recruitment to the Judiciary.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): Does the member treat the police also as a special case?

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): The Police and the Excise Departments also might be taken to be departments which require certain physical qualifications on the part of the recruits. With respect to those departments, no recurit could be taken in who does not come up to the physical measurement.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): Is it Mr. Kumaran's point that all appointments should be given to the less

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represented communities alone until they come up to the level of the other communities ?

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*) : I would answer that question years hence when the present inequality is removed. As it is, I would let it for the future. At present, we are trying to remove the existing inequalities.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*) : I am not asking about the past. I am asking him whether it is his point that all appoitments should go to the less represented communities alone.

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*) : I never said so.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*) : May I take it that if A, B and C run a race and A is in advance, he should sit down until B and C come up to him ?

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*) : That is an absolutely irrelevant analogy and I do not allow myself to be dragged in to answer the question.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*) : What are the qualifications that he would prescribe for this purpose ?

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*) : Government have laid down certain educational qualifications.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*) : If special qualification is necessary does not Mr. Kumaran consider it necessary to lay down that qualification also ?

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*) : It is perfectly right to do so.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*) : May I ask Mr. Kumaran whether educational qualification is the maximum or the minimum qualification for a post ?

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*) : The notification says it is the minimum qualification without which no appointment will be made. That is what the Government mean by minimum qualification.

What I would therefore submit to this House is that unless these rules are acted up to by the various authorities who are competent to make appointments, there is absolutely no use for the Government in laying down these rules. The Government laying down these rules and at the same time not insisting upon the various heads of departments and other authorities competent to make appointments to act up to those rules will be only as bad as not laying down those rules.

PRESIDENT : Your time is up.

MR. P. HABEEB MAHOMED (*Nominated*) : Sir, I feel I will be failing in my duty to the community which I have the privilege to represent here, if I do not support the resolution brought forward by Mr. Kunjitomman. I am as fully aware as anybody else in this House that the question of communal represenation is a vexed one, and no satisfactory solution can be found unless the Government are very careful in the matter of giving equal opportunities to all the communities. I am not an advocate of communal representation for its own sake, and for all

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time to come. It has been necessitated by the peculiarly disadvantageous position in which certain communities are placed at present and it is bound to disappear in course of time when the causes that gave rise to it vanish. I am the last man also to stand for communal representation at the sacrifice of efficiency. But the danger is that what we generally term efficiency in public service might sometimes mean everything and at other times it might mean nothing. Whether a particular applicant is more efficient than another when qualifications are equal is to be determined, in most cases, by the departmental heads; and in the majority of cases, they are guided by other considerations though they seem to take shelter under the plea of efficiency of public service. So the word efficiency is a very elusive term and it is almost impossible to say what efficiency is, so much so that, in most cases, the officers are left with a large amount of discretion which they can exercise for favouring individuals in whom they are interested. Here the fault lies with the Government so long as they do not call for annual returns of all the appointments made by their subordinates and scrutinise them. I have heard also about the nervousness of certain officers when interpellations are asked in this House regarding their unfavourable attitude towards the claims of particular applicants and subordinates under them. In such cases, we may even suspect that such officers may not scruple to make such individuals the scape-goat of their fury, for the supposed misdeeds of their representatives in the Council. These tendencies in officers cannot be effectively checked unless the Government keep a vigilant eye over them.

I am simply voicing forth the feelings and opinions of the educated Muslims of the State when I say that the Government accept the principle of communal representation in theory and leave the same to be worked out in practice to the departmental heads and the experience of most of the qualified Mahomedans who approach them is that they are the worst sinners against them. Indeed the feeling is growing among us and becoming more intense than ever, that some of the officers are trying to shut out the claims of the Muslims wherever practicable and I must tell the Government that this state of affairs, if allowed to go on, will be detrimental to the interests of the country.

I shall take a few particular cases. It is six or even years since the only Mahomedan medical graduate applied for a post, and the indifference of the Government or, if I am permitted to use a stronger word, the unwillingness of the Government to give him a place at last drove him out of Travancore. The answer of the Chief Secretary to my question in the last meeting of the Council regarding Mahomedan graduate applicants in 1100, and 1101 for posts in the Secretariat and the Account Office, furnishes another instance. Out of a total of 4 graduates during the course of two years, there was no chance for even a single Mahomedan applicant whereas 5 and 11 new appointments seem to have been made during this period and the answers of the

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learned Chief Secretary to my supplementary questions are evasive in their nature. When pressed with further questions, he assures me that in future Mahomedan applicants would be considered with sympathy. It is this sort of sympathy in which we are fast losing faith. I do not attribute the blame to him personally. It has become the practice of Government everywhere, even in such clear cases of mistakes and wrongs, to stand on high prestige, out of policy or otherwise, and give some explanation or other. I do not say that the Government will not sympathise with Mahomedans when such instances are brought to their notice. But in most cases their sympathy ends then and there. I can multiply many similar instances in which the claims of qualified Mahomedans have been ignored under one pretext or another.

I do not know whether it is because we are Mahomedans that we are treated in this manner by some of the officers. Some highly placed non-Mahomedan of great learning and virtue, once seems to have said of a particular Mahomedan that, although he is a Mahomedan he is an intelligent and good man. This gentleman seems to be of opinion that Mahomedans as a class are a set of people in whom intelligence and goodness are rare. Perhaps some of the officers of the Government may be holding similar opinions about Mahomedans and regard them with contempt and suspicion. I shall with all respect to my brother communities tell the Government that they are an honest and straightforward race who can admire similar qualities in others. We have been slow to take advantage of facilities afforded for modern education due to several causes, and that should not be the test to judge the capacity, intelligence and goodness of the community.

We insist upon being given a small proportion of the Government service, not because we want to grow fat in the offices or to exercise undue authority over others. We all know that an honest and conscientious Government officer can hardly save much out of his income. As against this unenviable position of most of the Government officers, Mahomedans will in most cases prefer taking to trade or commerce or other more profitable means of livelihood. By nature and instinct, a Mahomedan has greater attraction for trade and commerce than for Government job. Our desire to enter Government service is due to other reasons. In the first place, we should have equal opportunities with other people to participate in the Government of the country. Again, power and authority always held by one or two communities alone will lead to several evils. In such cases, the tendency everywhere is to monopolise power and authority and exercise the same for the selfish advantage of the particular section or sections. Hence, representation of all the communities is necessary in the public service, as much as in other public institutions, for checking these undesirable tendencies among those who hold power and authority. By tradition and history, Mahomedans are also fit to take part in the art of governing; and I fail to see any reason why they should be denied equal opportunities with others in the matter of serving their own country. We

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[Mr. P. Habeeb Mahomed.]

have also among us qualified men who are comparatively poor and it is the duty of the Government to appoint them to small posts, when they possess the requisite qualification and character.

While pleading for communal representation on the principle that equal opportunity should be given to all the communities when qualified men are available, I cannot but deplore the tendency of some of the communities to split themselves into a number of subdivisions, each clamouring for its own share of representation. I am constrained to tell the Government that there are such subdivisions among the Mahomedans also, though I will be the last man to plead for sectarian representation for Mahomedans also. When other communities clamour for Government job on the basis of a number of subdivisions among them, Government should not ignore the fact that, though there are several subdivisions among us, we stand as Mahomedans, and not as Rowther Mahomedans or Pathan Mahomedans or Jonaka Mahomedans, and so on.

In conclusion, I must request the Government to see that even if no preferential treatment is given to us, let us not be denied the barest justice. The unfortunate Mahomedans who approach some of the departmental heads have absolutely no hope of justice and fair play. They are turned out under one pretext or another. It is this state of affairs that the community feels most keenly and we will be ever grateful to you, Sir, if you will only turn your attention towards this aspect of the question. With these words, I support the resolution.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): I oppose the resolution. If I understand the resolution correctly, it means all vacancies in future should be given to the members of the unrepresented communities, provided they have the requisite educational qualifications. Mr. George told us the other day that though the Government accept the principle of communal representation it would be given effect to in this way, namely, the appointments will depend upon the number of qualified hands available in each community.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): Has the Government prepared such a list?

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): Not necessarily.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): How can they know?

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): Without any list, merely by a reference to the University calendar they can know. Even without doing that, one could have an approximate idea of the number of graduates in a particular community and whether the number is large or small in respect of each of them.

MR. CHANGANACHERY K. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Quilon*): If that principle is adopted, may I know whether there would be any chance for years to come for the unrepresented communities?

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MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*)(*Deputy President*) : I am coming to that point. I think that I have got only ten minutes. So, let me finish what I have to say and then, I will answer any question, if the President allows me time. Sir, I say the principle enunciated in the resolution is unworkable and unfair and that is why I started with the question to Mr. Kumaran whether it is his point that all appointments should go to unrepresented communities and in that connection I made use of an illustration, *viz.*, that if three people start a race and if one runs ahead he should sit down in order that the others might come up to him.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): May I know whether it would be proper to allow one of them to run in advance ?

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*) : It is not his fault. The unrepresented communities were never in the field and so what can the others do ?

MR. CHANGANACHERY K. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Quilon*) : May I know whether schools were then open to all communities?

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*) : There are old graduates from unrepresented communities and I know the colleges were never closed to them.

MR. CHANGANACHERY K. PARAMESVARAN PILLAI (*Quilon*) : May I know whether most of the schools were not closed to most of the backward communities in the State till recently ?

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*) : I believe there were enough of schools.

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*) : Primary or Middle schools ?

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*) : Even there, I say that.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*) : Did not certain communities have the advantage of education over other communities?

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*) : That might have been once upon a time. But we are here about appointments, but not one community against another community.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*) : May I know whether there will not be—

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*) : I decline to answer any further questions.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*) : May I know whether Mr. Subba Aiyar will answer at the end of his ten minutes ?

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nomiated*) (*Deputy President*) : Yes, if the President allows me time.

PRESIDENT : By the time Mr. Subba Aiyar finishes his speech he would most probably have answered your questions.

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MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*) : I say the principle is unworkable and unfair in this way. We allow admission in colleges to all classes of students and they go there in the hope that they can also run the race along with others in open competition in the battle of life. Now, if it is stated that the less represented communities alone will have the chance—if my friend Mr. Mammen Mappillai's or somebody else's remark is to prevail—I would humbly request that Government should see that members of the more advanced communities should not be allowed admission into the colleges until the less represented communities produce the required number of graduates. If that is so, I am perfectly agreeable to the proposal. So long as these colleges are open to all classes, I do not see why the eligible candidates of all communities should not have the *sane* chance of competing in the battle of life. Therefore, I say it is absurd to restrict it.

MR. G. RAMAN MENON (*Mavelikara* cum *Kartikapalli*): May I know whether battle of life and race for appointments are same?

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): To some extent. I think the resolution is only for that and therefore I say it is not a good policy to say that, until all communities are put on a level, you must shut out the more advanced communities. I will give one practical illustration. Let us take the case of a Mitakshara family or a Nayar *tarwad*. There may be many adults enjoying in common all the property and marrying their children and making jewels to the women—all out of the *tarwad* property, while many were not born or were junior members. When they attain majority, is it open to them to say: "We were not enjoying the property all these years and so let those who were enjoying go away so that we may enjoy them"? Whatever may be the reason for not educating—whether by the Government or by the guardians—the members of the unrepresented communities, are we here to punish vicariously the students who are now educated in the colleges? I say that is an absurd policy. Everybody should have a chance of open competition and if he is thought efficient, he should have the chance. By all means, the principle of communal respresentation be adopted. But, to say that, if there are half a dozen Ezhava graduates, all the six of them should be appointed before the graduates from another community are appointed, is absurd in the face of it and unfair, inequitable and unjust.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): Has the member any objection to fix a proportion, for future appointments to be made, between communities?

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): That is what Mr. George has undertaken and it would depend upon the number of qualified hands.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): My question is not that a proportion should be fixed between several communities in regard to population, but appointments should be made in turn.

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MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): I do not know whether we are not consulting each other without the consent of the party who makes the appointment, namely, the Government. If all the parties are agreeable, I have not the slightest objection in Government fixing that proportion.

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): This question of communal representation admittedly has long been an apple of discord in this country and the sooner we can get rid of it the better for the welfare and harmonious development of the country. The subject has been discussed in the previous sessions of the Council and I do not know whether anybody will have any fresh points to make on this question. I was tempted to speak because of one or two observations made by Mr. Subba Aiyar and by Mr. Lampard. Mr. Subba Aiyar took the example of several persons running a race. It goes without saying that an analogy cannot be strained to prove a proposition. There may be some points similar and there may be some dissimilar points. I might offer another analogy without claiming that it will cover the whole case. Suppose there are three members in a family. The eldest brother may have several children and some of the daughters might have been married and large sums may have been given as dowry and some of the sons may have been sent to England for higher education. The second brother might have a wife and a few young children and the third brother may have no children. But when partition takes place, the eldest brother has no right to say that he had been enjoying nine-tenths of the income of the property and that he should not all of a sudden be deprived of his previous income.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): I do not say that.

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): I am only saying that if the eldest brother is to claim nine-tenths of the income of the whole property, he will not be allowed to give effect to such a claim.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): After all, is public service like private property to be partitioned ?

MR K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): I have already said that an analogy cannot be pressed too far. I will take another instance. Suppose there are several members in a family and one is of average intelligence and another particularly bright. At the time of partition, suppose their father says that the prestige of the family will be maintained if a major portion of the property is given to the eldest son who is highly intelligent. I think the other members may not consider it fair. There are other instances also which can be brought forward. I say I am not particularly impressed by Mr. Subba Aiyar's bringing forward the analogy of several persons running a race and some of them asking the rest to stop till all come to the same point. Then Mr. Lampard was referring to efficiency as the sole test in the

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[Mr. K. C. Mammen Mappillai.]

choice of candidates in the various industrial concerns. It would be rather unfair to Mr. Lampard to say that he ever suggested that what he said should be taken to apply to conditions in the Travancore Government service. He referred to the matter as the President asked him what his experience was about the employment of hands in industrial concerns. It should not be forgotten that he was referring to commercial concerns in which the proprietors naturally will insist that, in the choice of subordinates, efficiency alone should be taken into account so that their properties may be safeguarded. But I should like to know whether there would not be a hubub, a hue and cry, if all the appointments in the civil service in England were given to Welshmen alone or Scotchmen alone.

Sir, after making these observations on these two aspects of the question, I should say that the one outstanding grievance under which I was always labouring with regard to the question of appointments in Travancore was the fact that certain communities could not aspire to certain appointments. I recognise gratefully that that state of things has been put an end to at least in theory and to a great extent in practice. Every section of His Highness' subjects can now aspire to every appointment in the State and, to that extent, I think, the most outstanding grievance has been removed. But I submit that, once this has been done, the next great improvement is the removal of the grievance of the so-called depressed or the suppressed communities. I do not mean to say that till the grievances of the depressed classes are removed, the higher classes, the so-called over-represented or well-represented classes, should not be given any posts in the State service. That is not my point. What I desire is that the policy of the Government should be an unmistakable partiality in favour of the depressed classes. Effort should be made by the head of the administration as well as by the heads of the several departments to redress the existing inequality. The appointments in Government service are coveted not only because of their emoluments, but also because they tend to raise the prestige and the self-respect of the whole community; and, so far as the depressed classes are concerned, it is a well-known fact that what is most required is that their self-respect should be raised, so that, even the very Pulaya and the Paraya might be enabled to go about with his head erect.

Mr Kumaran was found fault with for suggesting the stopping of the appointment of well-represented communities in regard to the initial appointments. What he meant was that there are certain appointments, for example, those of a schoolmaster, clerk or peon, or accountant,—I think these are the appointments that he meant by initial appointments,—in regard to which even among the depressed classes are sure to be found persons as competent as the members of the Nayar community or the Christian community or the Brahmin community. I am sure, so far as these appointments are concerned, there will be absolutely no difficulty to secure the required number, with the

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requisite efficiency for these appointments, from the depressed classes. Moreover, even in the higher ranks of office, it is not uncommon to find members of the Brahmin or the Nayar or the Christian community, whether Munsiffs, Magistrates or Inspectors, who are absolutely unfit for the posts. In all such cases, though the initial appointments had been made from the intellectual classes, there are cases in which the individuals happen to be absolutely unfit for the posts. I am sure this is a fact which Mr. Subba Aiyar will admit and which all of us know. We can very easily put our finger and say that such and such a person is absolutely unfit for such and such posts.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): Are there such inefficient men in all communities?

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): Yes, in all communities, even in the Christian, the Nayar and the Brahmin communities, which are considered to be advanced in the matter of education. I repeatedly made mention of these three communities, particularly to avoid all manner of misconceptions. It may happen in some cases that the individual chosen is inefficient. We cannot help that. I do not say that one who is admittedly incompetent should be appointed simply because he belongs to an unrepresented community. Nobody ever said so. The principle should be that, other things being equal, when persons possessing the necessary educational qualifications apply, the tendency of the Government should be always to show distinct partiality towards the members of the unrepresented communities; and it would be an act of great magnanimity if, in the meantime, persons belonging to the over-represented or well-represented communities would support the action of the Government and stand aside for some time so that their less fortunate brethren may get their share of the loaves and fishes of office.

Then, Sir, Mr. Paul Daniel was referring to the question of jumbling several communities in the words 'and others' occurring in the resolution. The Government, once they have committed themselves to the principle of recognising communal differences should look into the matter and ascertain that the several sections which deserve to be treated as separate entities for purposes of appointments are so treated. There may be one section particularly well-represented and there may be some others which are not represented at all. It will certainly be very unjust if both these well-represented and unrepresented sections are jumbled together as 'other communities.' It may therefore be desirable that, as far as possible, these discrepancies which cause serious heart-burning to anybody should be removed.

MR. K. P. NILAKANTA PILLAI (*Chirayinkil*): May I know from the member whether the several heads under which the various communities have been arranged are quite satisfactory?

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): I have not studied that list at all.

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MR. K. SIVARAMA PANIKKAR (*Shertallai*): Suppose a particular community is adequately represented in one department and is not well-represented in another department. Would the member support the cause of the community in regard to the department in which it is not adequately represented? To come to a concreate instance, the Brahmin community is not adequately represented in the Medical Department, although it is well represented in several other departments. What is the member's suggestion in such a case?

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): If Mr. Sivarama Panikkar would only wait till the end of my speech—

PRESIDENT: You have no more time, Mr. Mammen Mappillai.

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): What I wanted to say, Sir, is that it would never be possible to remove communal jealousy altogether. All that the Government should attempt to do is to remove clear and outstanding grievances. They should view the question as a whole.

MR. K. K. THOMAS (*Kottayam*): May I know whether the rules laid down by the Government are satisfactory?

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): I have not studied the rules either, because I am not, personally, in favour of communal representation.

MR. V. SUBBA AIYAR (*Nominated*) (*Deputy President*): A word by way of personal explaination, Sir. I only said that the resolution wants that the Government should stop for some time the appointment of the members of particular communities and that that was very unfair and unjust; and I am glad that my friend Mr. Mammen Mappillai agrees with me in regard to that point.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): May I know the time at our disposal, Sir?

PRESIDENT: It is now seven mintes to five. We will disperse at 5-15.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): I feel sorry, Sir, that I cannot agree with my friends when they say that the principle of communal representation is to be accepted in the matter of public service. As was pointed out by Mr. Mammen Mappillai, many of us look at the State service as something like private property which could be partitioned by the members of the State. That is a great mistake. We approach the question from the point of view of emoluments and do not care for public service.

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): A word of explanation, Sir. I just referred to rights over private property as was done by Mr. Lampard; and I also stated repeatedly that the analogy should not be pressed too far.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): I am glad that Mr. Mammen Mappillai agrees with me in this matter.

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): I do not agree with him in his conclusions and inferences.

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MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : The whole mistake lies in the fact that public service is viewed as private property which should be distributed among the people. Public service has unfortunately ceased to be serving the State. It has become the apple of discord. It is looked upon as a thief's kitchen where people can go and fight for a bone or a crumb. Sir, I must blame the Government for having given room for this sort of attitude on the part of the people. The Government have been mismanaging the matter. When Mr. George the other day said that, other things being equal, preference would be given to members of the unrepresented communities, he was really making a mistake. He said :

> "When the Government have said that, other things being equal, preference will be given to unrepresented and poorly represented communities, they did not mean any mathematical precision in the matter of appointments to the public service. What they meant was that they would as far as possible make good these inequalities and for that purpose they would give more representation to those communities which are not properly represented in the public service."

He said on another occasion that it would be impossible in practice to give preference.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*) : Does the member object to preference being given to members of unrepresented communities, provided they are found to be quite efficient for the posts ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : When I am speaking about public service, the communal question does not arise at all. All that I care for is efficiency, best service for the State for the pay offered by the State. If I am given the power to make appointments, I would not look into the communal column at all, or rather, I would even penalise the mention of the name of the community of the applicant in the application.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*) : Suppose the Brahmins are found to be the most efficient for all the appointments. Will Mr. A. K. Pillai have no objection if only Brahmins are appointed for all the posts ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : Certainly not. As I have already stated, all that I care is that, for the pay we offer, we should get the best service for the State. If Brahmins are prepared to give maximum service for minimum pay, well, certainly I am prepared to accept their offer and appoint them.

MR. A J. JOHN (*Vaikam*) : Is it his personal opinion or the opinion of the public of Travancore ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : I speak only on my own behalf and not on behalf of anybody else. What I say is that public service is not to be looked upon from the point of view of emoluments at all. It must be looked upon only as the means of getting the best service for the State for the money we pay.

MR. C. P. THOMAS (*Nominated*) : Does he make any difference between Travancoreans and foreigners ?

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MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): I do not make any sort of difference at all. I must get the best service for the pay I offer. For that purpose, I am prepared to advertise even throughout the world. A patriotic Government will only do that and get maximum service for the State for minimum pay and not distribute the offices to this community or to that community or to this man or to that man. I am sure that this policy has been introduced here by some unpatriotic man who wanted thereby to achieve his own selfish ends.

MR. K. C. MAMMEN MAPPILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, North*): Will Mr. A. K. Pillai mention any country where that would be truly carried out except Utopia?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): Sir, I am speaking as a practical politician. What I say is that the best service must be obtained and that must be paid for.

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*): Suppose Mr. A. K. Pillai is given the power to make appointments and, consistent with his principle, he gives all appointments to members of his community or of his own household. What will happen if that is done?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): The whole trouble is due to want of mutual confidence and due to mutual distrust. I think that if Mr. Kumaran is given the power he would use it only in favour of his community and he thinks that if I am given the power I would use it only in favour of my community. Sir, I decline to accept that argument. I am a patriotic man and I care only for the best interests of the State. I want, as I said, the best service for the State for the money that we pay. I do not care for the community from which officers are chosen. My whole grievance is that the matter is viewed only from the communal standpoint. That is why I say that, if this principle of communal representation is accepted, at least in part, people will not cease looking at the question from the communal standpoint.

MR. M. SIVATANU PILLAI (*Tovala*): May I know whether the member wants to make any distinction without any difference in the matter of appointments?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): Sir, will I be responsible for the time taken by the questions asked? If so, I should be very sorry.

PRESIDENT: I put the hands of my watch back two minutes.

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): What I say is that this principle should not be accepted. The Government should pick up the necessary courage and say an emphatic 'no' (*Hear, hear.*) when such questions as communal representation are raised. Such terms as the apple of discord and bone of contention are irrelevant. Bone, plum, crumb, all these terms, are absolutely irrelevant and inapplicable to service. It should be a hard job and an opportunity for severe and conscientious work. For service rendered to the State he will have to be paid; but the pay is only by the way. We have to *serve* the State. That is an opportunity; and when men come offering their services, it is the look-out of the State to select the best men and not to satisfy this or that appetite. The more the appetite is fed, the greater it grows.

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MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*) : Has the member any idea about the public opinion of Travancore on this question ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : I am not concerned with public opinion in deciding this question. If I am given the authority and if I am the master of the situation, I will say 'shut up' and I will do my duty, and I know what my duty is. That is why I am appealing to the Government to pick up courage. If they are going to compromise their position, if they are going to play fast and loose, there will be cries from this quarter and that, and new castes, new communities, and new subdivisions will crop up every moment. We cannot satisfy the wishes of all these communities. The whole question should be one of helping towards the national integration and not the national disintegration. We have now already too many communities and there should be no opportunity given for more communities to spring up. I should say that there should be a *full stop* to that process. The State should not accept any principle which aims at satisfying the vociferous section of the State. They may be anxious to have this job or that job. But the real soul of the country is the real people.

MR. N. KUMARAN (*Nominated*) : May I know who those real people are ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : Put your hand on your heart and ask yourself that question and you will get the answer.

So I appeal to the Government to pick up courage.

MR. X. G. LOPEZ (*Nominated*): Does the member remember that in one of the previous sessions of the Council he said that the public servants are not servants of the public, but masters of the public ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): I do not catch the member exactly.

MR. X. G. LOPEZ (*Nominated*) : Does he remember that in one of his speeches in this House, I think in the Budget Session, he said that the public servants were not servants of the public, but were masters of the public ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): Yes. I was condemning the present state of affairs in which we have the reverse of what should be. That is because I saw that here things were topsy-turvy.

MR. S. PIRAVIPERUMAL PILLAI (*Commerce and Industry, South*) : Am I to understand that Mr. A. K. Pillai sees things topsy-turvy ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : What I say is that the communal question should not arise in the matter of appointments.

MR. X. G. LOPEZ (*Nominated*) : Does he wish to have too many masters in the country ; for according to him all public servants are masters of the public ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : Sir, I have been reiterating time and again that, in my scheme of things, the communal question does not arise at all.

MR K. SIVARAMA PANIKKAR (*Shertallai*) : Does the member recognise any community for public service ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : No, I do not,

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MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*) : Does the member think that the present condition of Travancore allows the applicability of his principles ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : Yes.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): Does he believe that the present officers are always acting without any considerations of communal principles ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): Certainly, it is for the people to get universal representation in popular bodies and get themselves hanged if they do not.

MR. K. I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): May I know from the member whether it is possible at present ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): It is for us to make it possible, even if it is not possible, without clamouring for this State property.

MR. K I. JOSEPH (*Minachil* cum *Devicolam*): May I know from the member whether the present condition in Travancore is favourable for such a thing ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): Yes. At any time it will be favourable. At no time will it be late. Even if it is too late, let us take the earliest step, without letting further time, to have it accomplished.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*) : Is there any department in Travancore which has accepted this principle ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : If no department has accepted it, then a wrong principle must have been accepted.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*): Is Mr. A. K. Pillai aware of any department which has accepted it ?

MR. A. K PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : The departments may have accepted it or may not have. But we are discussing here the desirability of accepting it.

MR. A. J. JOHN (*Vaikam*) : Is it possible for Mr. A. K. Pillai to mention any particular department ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : I am not concerned with what is actually being done by the departments. All that I say is that this is the way in which the Government must do things and not to play fast and loose.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): ഇപ്പോൾ പബ്ളിക്ക് സർവ്വീസിൽ ഉദ്യോഗനിയമനം നടത്തുന്നതു യോഗ്യതയെ മാത്രം നോക്കിയാണോ അതല്ല നിയമനാധികാരമുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ സ്വജാതിക്കാരെന്നും ചാർച്ചക്കാരെന്നുമുള്ള സൌജന്യം കൊണ്ടാണോ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*) : അതു ഞാൻ പറഞ്ഞുകഴിഞ്ഞു. ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ നിയമനം എന്നു മാത്രമല്ല രാജ്യഭരണ സംബന്ധമായ

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പല സംഗതികളിലും ഗവർണ്മെൻറ് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ ചെയ്യുവരുന്ന അഴിമതികളെ നേരെ തുക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങളെ നോക്കുകയല്ലാവേണ്ടതു്, അവയെ കഴിയുന്നതു വേഗത്തോടെ പരിച്ഛേദിക്കുകയാണു വേണ്ടതു്. അതിലേക്കു മി: കുഞ്ഞുത്തൊമ്മന്റെ പ്രമേയം അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നില്ല.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuha* cum *Todupuzha*): അതിനു് ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ സമ്പ്രദായം തുടർന്നുകൊണ്ടു പോവുകയാണോ നല്ലതു്?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): അല്ല. ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ സമ്പ്രദായം നിറുത്തണമെന്നാണു് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം. ഒരു കാലത്തു് ബ്രാഹ്മണരോ നായന്മാരോ വർഗ്ഗീയപക്ഷപാതം കാണിച്ചിരുന്നായിരിക്കാം. മി: കുഞ്ഞുത്തൊമ്മനെ ഞാൻ ദ്രോഹിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതിനുപകരം എന്നെയും ദ്രോഹിച്ചതിനുശേഷം യോജിക്കണമെന്നില്ലല്ലൊ?

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): ധാരാളം പ്രാതിനിധ്യം ഉള്ളവർ പക്ഷപാതം കാണിച്ചതിനെ പരിഹരിക്കുന്നതിനു പ്രാതിനിധ്യമില്ലാത്തവർക്കു് ഉദ്യോഗം കൊടുക്കയല്ലേ നല്ലതു്?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): അല്ല. ഇനിമേലാൽ അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള പക്ഷപാതം കാണിക്കാതിരിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള വഴിവേണം നോക്കാൻ.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): പ്രാതിനിധ്യം ഇല്ലാത്തവർക്കുകൂടി കൂടെ പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കൊടുക്കയല്ലേ ഉത്തമം?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): അല്ല.

MR. TARIATU KUNJITOMMAN (*Muvattupuzha* cum *Todupuzha*): എല്ലാവർക്കാക്കും പ്രാതിനിധ്യം കൊടുക്കാതെ ഈ അഴിമതിയെ നിർത്തുന്നതിനു വല്ല വഴിയും നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടോ?

MR. A. K. PILLAI (*Karunagapalli*): ഉണ്ടു്. പ്രായപൂർത്തിവന്നിട്ടുള്ള എല്ലാആളുകൾക്കും വോട്ടവകാശം വേണമെന്നു ഒരു പ്രമേയം അയച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

PRESIDENT: We will now adjourn and meet again at 11-30 to-morrow.

The Council adjourned at 5-15 P. M.

T. P. RAMASUBBA AIYAR,
Secretary to the Legislative Council,

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